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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 IO-14 SAB-01 SAM-01

ACDA-19 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01 CIEP-03 DRC-01 SCI-06

NIC-01 /148 W
---------- 004828
O R 131450Z SEP 74
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 549
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION USUN
USMISSION NATO
SECDEF/OSD/ISA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4533

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR YO CY GR TU IT
SUBJECT: TITO TAKES PESSIMISTIC VIEW OF CYPRUS, MIDDLE EAST SITUATION; BLAMES CIA AND NATO FOR MAKARIOS OVERTHROW

SUMMARY. IN A WIDE-RANGING SPEECH SEPT 12 COVERING BOTH INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC SUBJECT: LATTER COVERED SEPTEL) YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT TITO EXPRESSED APPREHENSION THAT THE ARABS WILL ATTACK ISRAEL IF THE LATTER DOES NOT GIVE BACK CAPTURED LANDS, AND REITERATED STAND THAT US HAS
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RESPONSIBILITY TO PRESS ISRAEL TO DO SO. ON CYPRUS TITO SAID

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AGREEMENT MUST NOT BE IMPOSED BY GREAT POWERS, AND
CHARGED THAT OVERTHROW OF MAKARIOS WAS ORGANIZED BY THE
CIA AND NATO ALONG WITH THE GREEK JUNTA TO INSTALL NATO
BASES ON CYPRUS AND PUT PRESSURE ON SYRIA AND THE SOVIET
UNION. HE REFERRED TO PRESIDENT FORD'S MESSAGE WHICH
COVEYED "A FAVORABLE ATTITUDE TOWARDS YUGOSLAVIA". ON
OTHER TOPICS, TITO WONDERED WHY THE "FREEZE" ON THE QUESTION
OF EUROPEAN SECURITY, AND CALLED RELATIONS WITH ITALY
"MIDDLING"BECAUSE OF UNRESOLVED BORDER QUESTION (TRIESTE)
AND "RISE OF FASCISM" THERE. END SUMMARY.

2. SPEAKING BEFORE THE POLITICAL AKTIV IN THE SLOVENIAN
INDUSTRIAL TOWN OF JESENICE, TITO LABELED CYPRUS AND THE
MIDDLE EAST AS THE CURRENT "HOTBEDS OF DANGER". HE SAID
"IT IS ALSO TRUE" THAT WAR CONTINUES IN THE FAR EAST WHER
NO "TRANQUILIZATION" HAS TAKEN PLACE. THIS WAS TITO'S
FIRST MAJOR SPEECH FOLLOWING HIS ANNUAL SUMMERR VACTION
ON THE ADRIATIC ISLAND OF BRIONI. ASSUME FULL TEXT
AVAILABLE DEPT VIA FBIS.

3. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, TITO SAID THAT "NODBODY,
NEIGTHER THE SOVIET UNION NOR THE AMERICANS WISH A WAR, BUT IT
IS NOT ENOUGH TO WISH". CALLING THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREE-
MENTS ONLY A FIRST STEP, HE SAID THE "SECOND STEP -
ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM CAPTURED ARAB LANDS - MUST FOLLOW
SOON" OR IT WILL MEAN "THE ARABS WILL HAVE TO WIN BACK
THEIR TERRITORIES BY WAR". TITO EXPRESSED HIMSELF AS
"MORE AND MORE CONVINCED" THAT IF THE PROBLEM IS NOT RESOLVED
"THE ARABS WILL HAVE TO SETTLE THIS BY OTHER MEANS
AND DEFEND THEIR INTERESTS".

4. REFERRING TO A RECENT MEETING WITH AN FRG BUNDESTAG
DELEGATION HEADED BY GERHARDT SCHROEDER, TITO NOTED THAT
THE DELEGATION ALSO VISITED ISRAEL. "ISRAEL THEY SAY
IS ARMING ITSELF OUT OF FEAR THAT THE ARABS WILL ATTACK
IT, "TITO SAID, CONTINUING THAT "IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY
WILL HAVE TO ATTACK IT ONE DAY IF IT (ISRAEL) REFUSES TO
WITHDRAW FROM THEIR TERRITORIES". TITO SAID HE STRESSED
TO SCHROEDER THAT "THE BIG POWERS, AND ABOVE ALL THE
UNITED STATES, MUST EXERT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL INSTEAD OF
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SUPPLYING IT WITH ARMAMENTS AND EXTENDING AID TO IT".
HE CITED THE ISRAELI PREMIER'S VISIT TO THE US WHER HE
"ASKED FOR...AND THE US AGREED TO" FIVE BILLION DOLLARS
FOR MORE ARMY. TITO SAID "THE ARAB COUNTRIES TOO ARE SEEKING
THE MOST MODERN WEAPONS: IT SEEMS THAT THE SOVIET UNION
WILL PROVIDE EQYPT WITH THEM, AS IT HAS ALREADY SYRIA
WHICH IS QUITE WELL-ARMED".

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5. CALLING CYPRUS THE "NEW DELEMMA", TITO SAID YUGOSLAVIA HAS DONE EVERYTHING IT COULD VIA ITS MESSAGES TO ALL CONCERNED AND TO THE NONALIGNED, AND VIA THE VISIT OF FONSEC MINIC TO ATHENS, ANKARA AND NICOSIA. STATING THAT THE YUGOSLAVS ARE NOT PROVIDING CONCRETE PROPOSALS, TITO SAID THEY HAD HOWEVER MADE IT CLEARLY KNOWN THAT THE SITUATION "MUST BE SETTELD ON SOME BASIS OF EQUALITY ACCEPTABLE TO THE TURKS AND THE GREEKS". "UNTIL THE PUTSCH ON CYPRUS," TITO CONTINUED, "THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS DID NOT ENJOY ANY RIGHTS, THEY WERE STRONGLY OPPRESSED BY SOME ALMOST SEMI-FASCIST AND FASCIST ELEMENTS, LIKE THE EOKA AND OTHERS. WE APPROVED OF THE INITIAL TURKISH INVASION... BUT DID NOT AGREE WITH THE TURKISH ACTION WHEN THE LATTER REACHED FAMAGUSTA." REFERRING TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL "WHICH INVOLVES THE PARTICIPATION OF SEVERAL COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND SOME OTHERS, INCLUDING A NONALIGNED COUNTRY, WHICH WOULD BE YUGOSLAVIA" TITO NOTED THAT THE TURKS HAD REJECTED IT BUT SAID HE AHD "NOTED RECENTLY THAT THE TURKS ARE RETREATING SOMEWHAT FROM SUCH A STANCE AND THAT NOW THEY ARE NOT SO STRONGLY AGAINST IT". "OF COURSE," TITO CONTINUED, "IT DEPENDS THE MOST ON THE TURKS AND GREEKS THERE THEMSELVES. THEY, ABOVE ALL, MUST BE THE ONES TO DECIDE BECAUSE THE BIG POWERS MUST NOT IMPOSE ANY SOLUTION OF THEIR OWN. THEY CAN AND MUST ONLY HELP TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM."

6. THEN ASKING RHETORICALLY "WHAT WAS THE REASON FOR THE PUTSCH ON CYPRUS", TITO SAID, "THIS PUTSCH WAS ORGANIZED BY THE CIA, THE GREEK MILITARY JUNTA, AND THE ATLANTIC PACT. THE AIM WAS TO KILL MAKARIOS BECAUSE CYPRUS WAS A NONALIGNED COUNTRY, AND MAKARIOS IS ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE NONALIGNED POLICY. HE HAD TO BE REMOVED AND CYPRUS TURNED INTO A BASE OF THE ATLANTIC PACT." TITO WENT ON TO SAY
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THAT THE ESTABLISHING OF NATO BASES ON CYPRUS WOULD BE AIMED AT BOTH THE SOVIETS AND SYRIA, AND THE LATTER WOULD "FIND ITSELF CLOSED IN WITH ISRAEL ON THE OTHER SIDE. SYRIA WOULD BE IN A VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION, BECAUSE IT WOULD BE DEPRIVED OF ANY POSSIBLITY TO RECEIVE AID BY SEA. THIS WAS THE STRATEGIC PLAN FOR SETTING UP THIS BASE. THE PLAN FAILED, AND THE JUNTA FELL ALONG WITH THE PLAN".

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ACDA-19 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01 CIEP-03 DRC-01 SCI-06

NIC-01 /148 W
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O R 131450Z SEP 74
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 550
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION USUN
USMISSION NATO
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7. TITO THEN WENT ON TO ADDRESS US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS:
"AS FOR OUR RELATIONS WITH THE US, PRESIDENT FORD IN THE
TELEGRAM HE SENT TO ME, STRESSED THAT HE CONSIDERS THAT
OUR RELATIONS SHOULD FURTHER DEVELOP IN A FAVORABLE DIRECTION.
HE SPECIFIED THAT THIS MEANS A FAVORABLE ATTITUDE TOWARDS
YUGOSLAVIA."

8. ON EUROPE, TITO SAID THE VIENNA DISARMENT TALKS HAVE
ACHIEVED NOTHING, BUT THAT GREATER EFFORTS ARE BING
EXERTED ON QUESTIONS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. "THE SOVIET
UNION, IT SEEMS, IS THE MOST INTERESTED IN EUROPEAN
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SEUCRITY," TITO SAID, "AND NOT ONLY THE SOVIET UNION BUT

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WE AND OTHERS. I UNDERSTAND IT BECAUSE IT IS ONE OF THE
MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS...I DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION WITH
CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT WHEN I WAS VISITING THE FRG. I WONDER
WHY NOW SOME WANT TO FREEZE THE QUESTION OF EUROPEAN SECURITY,
WHY POSTPONE THIS QUESTION". CONTINUING THAT HE HAS NEVER
BELIEVED A CONFERENCE COULD ALL QUESTION, TITO
SAID HE FELT IT SHOULD BE CONVENED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND
"SETTEL THE QUESTIONS ON WHICH WE ALL AGREE, AND THE REST
MAY BE SETTLED LATERJN GRADUALLY".

9. TURNING TO ITALY, TITO SAID", "OUR RELATIONS ARE MIDDLING
NEITHER PARTICULARLY GOOD NOR PARTICULARLY BAD. WE WILL
STILL HAVE TO COPE WITH THAT BOUNDARY QUESTION, BUT WE
CANNOT TEEL WHAT THE SITUATION TOMORROW WILL BE OVER THERE
IN ITALY BECAUSE FASCISM THERE HAS RAISED ITS HEAD
CONSIDERABLY."

10. ELECTRONIC MEDIA DID NOT CARRY FULL TEXT OF TITO
SPEECH. EMBASSY OFFICERS MONITORED LIVE RADIO BROADCAST
AND PRIME-TIME EVENING TELEVISION NEWS VERSION OF IT. IN
BOTH INSTANCES TITO'S VOICE CAME THROUGH DIRECT ONLY PART
OF THE TIME, WITH THE REST BEING VOICE-OVER COMMENTATOR
SUMMARIES. NEITHER CHARGE OF CIA INVOLVEMENT IN MAKARIOS
OVERTHROW NON PASSAGES ON ARREST OF "COMINFORMIST" GROUP
IN YUGOSLAVIA (REPORTED SEPTEL) WERE INCLUDED.

1. COMMENT: IN GENERAL TITO ADDS LITTLE NEW TO PREVIOUS
YUGOSLAV POSITIONS. HIS ACCUSATION OF CIA AND NATO
INVOLVEMENT
IN MAKARIOS OVERTHROW IS HOWEVER FIRST SUCH BY RANKING
YUGOSLAV FIGURE. ALSO, BY IMPLICATION HE COMES DOW VERY
HARD ON MAKARIOS, MAKING IT CLEAR IT WAS WHILE MAKARIOS
WAS IN POWER THAT THE TURKISH MINORITY WAS DISADVANTAGED.
ON THE MIDDLE EAST, WHILE GIVING A SOMEWHAT MORE EVEN-
HANDED TREATMENT TO THE ARMS SUPPLY SITUATION AND
CONCEDING THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE REASON TO BE APPREHENSIVE,
HE STILL ADHERES TO THIS LONG-HELD VIEW THAT THE US SHOULD
(AND BY IMPLICATION CAN) INFLUENCE ISRAEL. THE EUROPEAN
SECURITY PASSAGE INDICATES THAT HE DOES NOT CONSIDER THE
SOVIETS TO BE THE ONES STANDING IN THE WAY OF PROGRESS.
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ALTHOUGH HE DOES NOT COME OUT AND SAY WHO HE THINKS IT IS,
ONE COULD INFER (AND MANY WILL) THAT HE MEANS THE UNITED
STATES.

12. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT TITO REFERRED TO GENERALLY
GOOD RELATION WITH THE WEST AND SPECIFICALLY THE
US AND ITS FAVORABLE ATITUDE TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA. HE MADE
NO SUCH REFERENCE TO TIES WITH THE USSR OR SOVICALIST

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STATES. TITO GENERALLY BALANCES REFERENCES TO EAST AND
WEST OR US AND USSR IN HIS SPEECHES, AS HE IMPLICITLY DID
IN NOTING BOTH ARE SHIPPING ARMS TO MIDDLE EAST. WHILE
REFERENCE TO CIA AND NATO IS DISTATEFUL, WE BELIEVE
ABSENCE OF FAVORABLE MENTION OF MOSCOW IS NOT ACCIDENTAL AND
PROBABLY RELATED TO REVELATION OF COMINFORMISTS.
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